Michael-Rudulph, "Lion of the Legion"

By Marilou Alston Rudulph

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[p201] Contemporaries knew Michael Rudulph as a magnetic person and dedicated American Revolutionary War soldier; those to follow accepted him as a brilliant strategist fighting on foreign soil. Like a comet, he appeared only to disappear, at thirty-five. The legend, that Rudulph stepped from the role of Adjutant General of the United States into that of the valiant Marshal Ney of France, was accepted by eminent men. But why bestow the lesser legend if one deserves the applause of history?

The mysterious disappearance intensified and perpetuated interest, but tended to obscure Rudulph's brilliant revolutionary record, part of which occurred on Georgia soil. His military contribution, in a great measure, went toward unyoking Georgia from English rule. A hero should be remembered on his battlefield. In earlier years, admirers Thomas Spalding, Israel K. Tefft, Alexander A. Smets, and William Harden, intellectuals, abounding with interest in Georgia's historical inheritance, kept Rudulph's memory bright. They lived on the hope that Michael Rudulph was Marshal Ney, but died with no change of diet.

Michael Rudulph was born, January 5, 1758, at Head of Elk¹ (Elkton), Maryland, the head of navigation of the Elk River, flowing into Chesapeake Bay. The straggling village lay directly upon the route between northern and southern colonies and was strategic in America's struggle for freedom. Continental troops embarked and debarked here; the British also found it a convenient landing.

Michael, barely twenty, with nerve, spirit and fiber, swore allegiance before his uncle, Tobias Rudulph, the Magistrate, March 2, 1778.² A month later, he joined the Partisan Cavalry, commanded by Major Henry Lee. His probation period was short, [p202] advancing from sergeant major,³ to quartermaster, 4 to lieutenant, 5 within sixteen months.

As lieutenant, he made Paulus Hook his proving ground, where under the command of Major Lee, he led the forlorn hope, in full view of the garrison at New York, and came out unscathed, with the thanks of Congress, and the brevet, pay, and subsistence of captain.⁶

Michael was a recruit of but two months when the last battle between the main British and American armies was fought in the Northern theatre, at Monmouth, New Jersey. During the English occupation of Philadelphia (well did Michael remember the Chesapeake Bay approach by the British, through his bailiwick, Head of Elk, on their way to capture the rebel capital), momentous happenings had transpired. The American army at Valley Forge had been disciplined by Baron Friederich von Steuben; France had declared itself an ally of the United States; Sir Henry Clinton had relieved Sir William Howe. But hardly had Clinton installed himself in Philadelphia, before he was ordered to evacuate the city and switch his command to New York. Clinton chose the land route. Flanks of long columns, with impediments of innumerable heavy wagons, was invitation enough for an American attack. In spite of valiant fighting by the Continentals, Monmouth was a defensive victory for the British who reached Sandy Hook, where boats conveyed them on an easy crossing to Manhattan.

This same Sandy Hook, in January 1779, was the scene of one of Michael Rudulph's daring adventures. The British often had shore leave from their vessels lying at anchorage, and came on to hobnob and plan nefarious dealings with Loyalists at a certain tavern. Rudulph, with a small band of volunteers, raided the place, and discovered a huge cache of counterfeit colonial bills, forged to hasten America's

² Molly Howard Ash, "Oathes of Allegiance," in D.A.R. Magazine, Sept. 1928, p. 561. ³ Francis B. Heitman, Historical register of Officers of Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 to Dec., 1783

¹ Rudulph Bible records, owned by Mrs. C.M. Rudulph; Luoise Manly, *The Manly Family* (Greenville, S.C., 1930), 178. Michael was the son of Jacob and Rachel (Johnson) Rudulph, born Jan. 5, 1758, Belle Hill Farm, Head of Elk, Cecil County, Maryland.

⁽new, revised, enlarged edition, Washington, D.C., 1914)_, 476, Sergeant major, Lee's Battalion of Light Dragoons, April 7, 1779.

⁴ *Ibid.; United States Army Recruiting New* (Recruiting Publicity Bureau, issued by direction of the Adjutant General, U.S. Army, Governors Island, N.Y.), June 1, 1934, p. 2; hereinafter cited, Recruiting News, Regimental quartermaster, April 1, 1779. ⁵ *Ibid*. Lieutenant, July 1, 1779.

⁶ *Ibid.* Captain, Sept. 24, 1779 Act of Congress, Sept. 24, 1779: "RESOLVED, the Congress justly esteem the military caution so happily combined with daring activity by Lieutenant McAllister and Rudolph, in leading the forlorn hope...[at Powles Hook]." RESOLVED, that the brevet rank and pay and subsistence of a captain be given to Lieutenants McAllister and Rudulph.

financial downfall. Two captured ensigns, and nine Tories grieved to see their tavern of hope ignited by their own country's bills.⁷

After Monmouth, the two armies remained largely quiescent, with Clinton holding tight to the Manhattan base and neighboring [p203] territory, and General George Washington lying defensively on the qui vive in the neighborhood of Haverstraw Bay. Fringe war was to continue, but henceforth the war would be transferred to the South, and never again would it be fought by main armies, but by subordinate armies, or by detachments from them.

The British had tried, in vain, to cut off the New England colonies from the central colonies. Now there object was to sever colonies below the Potomac. Late in 1778, a force headed by Colonel Archiblad Campbell, sailed south, another sailed up from St. Augustine, Florida, under Augustine Prevost, both landing near Savannah. The weak American force, under General Robert Howe, sandwiched in between was briskly scattered, and not only Savannah, but Sunbury and Augusta fell, and nearly all of Georgia came under British domination. General Benjamin Lincoln, with the help of the French fleet, under Admiral Charles Hector D'Estaing, made a futile attempt to recapture Savannah, then backed up into South Carolina to be hemmed in at Charleston by another British fleet, arriving under Clinton. By June 8, 1780, Clinton returned to New York, having accomplished unconditional surrender of Charleston, and having spread out, north to Camden, west to Ninety-Six, and northeast to the North Carolina border, with relay forts galore. Lord Charles Cornwallis was left in command.

General Nathanael Greene replaced Colonel [sic] Horatio Gates as head of the Southern Department, December 3, 1780. The small Southern army had been reduced in numbers after the battle of Camden, under Gates, and was without supplies. Greene faced odds comparable to Shakespeare's "valiant flea that dared eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion." Loyalties and areas of fighting were less defined here than in the North. In the South, war was everywhere striking with the unpredictability of a virus. In the North there were cities and towns; and war was carried on at a limited number of points. In the South there were uncleared forests, marshy lands, where the infectious mosquito held sway, and nowhere a thick population.

It was a great comfort when Greene learned that the highly [p204] disciplined Legion of Lee would join his slim ranks – regulars from Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and the informal forces of General Francis Marion, General Thomas Sumter, and General Andrew Pickens.

The Legion had been formed while the army was lying in Jersey. Washington had issued orders for Major Henry Lee (who would become lieutenant colonel, November, 1780) to organize a legion of select men. Excitement was in the air over the choice of the Legionnaires, but Michael wrote confidently to his friend, Captain Allan McLane, "As to myself, I am quite easy." The Legion consisted of three troops of horse and three companies of infantry, a total of 300 men. From Preakness, Jersey, October 22, 1780, Washington wrote the Board of War, "Gentlemen, I have concluded to send Major Lee's corps to the southward as soon as accoutrements and cloathing necessary for their equipment can be procured. To assist in expediting the business Captain Rudulph goes forward to Philadelphia with a return of articles wanted..." Under "Light Horse Harry" Lee, fearless Rudulph became known as "Lion of the Legion." Lee became Greene's "right eye;" the Legion acquired glamour and fame, and whenever Greene spoke of it, his words were "in the warmest strain of panegyric."

Michael thought of the migration south as a seasonal experience, and his instinctive return to Maryland, when the war was ended. Unseen draglines, as invisible as those of a spider, would place his future residence elsewhere. He became a Georgian through marriage and through combat. Like a Roman, he settled where he conquered.

With a flourish of originality, on many occasions, Greene combined the Legion, resplendent in green jackets, black breeches and caps, with Marion's shabby guerillas to discover a symbiotic relationship, each deriving benefits from the other.

8 Michael Rudulph, Burlington, N.J., to Capt. Allan McLane, Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 15, 1780, in McLane Collection (New York Historical Society.)

⁷ Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg), Feb. 12, 1780.

⁹ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington (Bicentennial Edition, 39 vols., Washington, D.C., 1931-1944), XX, 402.

¹⁰ Swepson, Earle, *Maryland's Colonial Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, Md., 1916), 104; George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland...* (Elkton, Md., 1881), 515.

¹¹ Theodore Thayer, Nathanael Greene, Strategist of the American Revolution (New York, 1960), 374.

¹² Robert Wilson Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution 1776-1782* (3 vols., 1 and 2 New York, 1865-1857; 3 Columbia, S.C., 1853), II, 195.

It was the great race for the Dan, which left the British gaping on the wrong side of the River, with no boats in which to cross. The following battle of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, where Michael "received great applause," decided Cornwallis, [p205] tired of chasing Americans, to proceed to Hillsborough, North Carolina, and eventually to Virginia.

Should Cornwallis advance into Virginia, here would be the opportunity to restore Georgia and South Carolina in his absence. The more examination reveals the importance of southern operations, the greater seems Michael's contribution. "The new nation would not have been without Southern devotion and sacrifice." "There was not in the Southern army an officer of the same grade, whose activity and daring spirit produced such an essential advantage to the service as Michael Rudolph [sic]." 15

Michael's accomplishments were often hidden by the seeming failure of the whole, or by a shifting of plans. It was he who captured Colonel Archibald Campbell, at Georgetown, South Carolina, ¹⁶ when Marion and Lee retired for lack of equipment for battering doors and scaling walls. Lee felt that had "Rudolph [sic] been ordered to carry the fort with the bayonet, success would have been complete." It was Rudolph who on a suicide squadron gained the stockade fort at Ninety-Six, South Carolina, and was recalled, though further victory was within his reach. ¹⁸ It was he who led the charge that broke the English line at the Battle of Eutaw, South Carolina. ¹⁹ Greene reported to the President of Congress, "The infantry of the State troops kept up a heavy fire, and the Legion in front, under Captain Rudolph [sic] charged them with fixed bayonets, they fled on all sides..."²⁰ Again, his successful part in the capture of St. John's Island near Charleston, was circumscribed by failure when he waded with his corps unperceived between two British galleys guarding the ford.²¹ The supporting troops of Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens never showed up. It was Michael who made vital and perilous investigations, and chartered boats for crossing Cape Fear River for the contemplated campaign into North Carolina, 22 cancelled after Greene learned that the French West Indian fleet was expected off the coast of Charleston. When Greene contemplated the taking of Charleston, and the British galley Alligator obstructed inspection of the Ashley River as a possible entrance to the city, it was Michael Rudolph who volunteered, and captured [p206] 28 out of a crew of 43, and stripped and burned the blockading galley, without losing a man of his force.²³ But the attack was abandoned. Bearing in mind that lesser contributions have their weight, and in sum are a great part of history, yet it is pleasing to turn from Michael's Sisyphean labors to those framed in success, such as the proud victories in Georgia.

Rudulph made his whirlwind start at Fort Watson, South Carolina, when he wielded the bayonet in the capture of the stockade, and again at Fort Granby, South Carolina, where, with gleaming bayonet, he slashed through the guards and was the first to occupy the principal bastion. He was accorded the privilege of raising the American flag,²⁴ and received a lion's share of praise.

By toppling one relay fort after another, Fort Motte, Orangeburg, Fort Watson, Fort Grandby, Georgetown, Americans were hindering the flow of both British soldiers and goods, and narrowing the spheres of British influence. The draw string was now to be pulled tight in Georgia, and the English would be restricted to the smaller confines around Savannah.

While Lee's Legion was in route to free Augusta, Georgia, Intelligence was brought that a valuable supply of powder, balls, small arms, salt, blankets, and articles intended as the royal present for

¹⁶ William Robertson, Declaration for United States Pension," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, VI, 251, 252. Crossing the bridge at the union of rivers Black, Sampit, Peedee, and Macamaw is a plaque erected 1938, by a Chapter of the D.A.R., commemorating the surrender of Col. Campbell to the victorious Carnes and Rudulph.

¹³ Alexander Garden, Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America...(Charleston, S.C., 1822), 129.

¹⁴ John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1757), 1.

¹⁵ Garden, Anecdotes, 128.

¹⁷ Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Dept. of the United States* (New edition by Robert E. Lee, New York, 1870), 225.
¹⁸ James McSherry, *A History of Maryland from its Settlement in 1634 to the year 1845* (Baltimore, 1852), 293; Lee, *Memoirs*, 377:
Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1852), II, 693.

¹⁹ Garden, Anecdotes, 129; Lee, Memoirs, 469.

²⁰ Lee, Memoirs, 601.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 533.

²² Ibid., 446.

²³ *Ibid.*, 545; *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), May 17, 1782; *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), May 11, 1782; Garden, *Anecdotes*, 129; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783* (2 vols. New York, 1902), II, 613-615; *Calendar of O.H. Williams Papers...* (prepared by Maryland Historical Records Project Division, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Projects Administration, Baltimore, Md., 1940), Item, 146.

²⁴ Lossing, Field Book, II, 689; Lee, Memoirs, 349-352.

the Indians deposited at Fort Galphin,²⁵ and provided ammunition for the attack rather than the defence of Augusta, with enough powder to spare several barrels to Greene at Ninety-Six.

A portion of the infantry under Captain Rudulph was ordered to rush upon Fort Grierson, the weaker fort protecting Augusta. "Rudolph [sic] had no difficulty in possessing himself of the fort." The attempted opposition was instantly overcome.

The victorious Legion, with the additional forces of Colonel Andrew Pickens, and Colonel Elijah Clarke's command, had been reinforced by Colonel John Baker, with a small body of militia from south Georgia. Undoubtedly, John Baker and Michael Rudulph, later to have the relationship of father and son-in-law, [p207] met upon this battlefield. Nor is it unreasonable to imagine, since females were attendant at the most surprising places, that Sarah Baker, the Colonel's daughter, accompanied her father to Augusta, and here the young officer, Michael, was introduced. Young Sarah, like all girls susceptible to uniforms was naturally charmed by the "soldiers' idol." Even Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, commandant of the British forces in upper Georgia, with headquarters at Fort Cornwallis, noted the uniform of the smart looking Legion. Perhaps he was especially clothes-conscious after the Georgia Whigs had tarred and feathered him, a Georgian Tory. This incident had insulted his ego and exaggerated his venom.

Aside from the stimulating influence of elegant uniforms, Michael loved fine clothes. A letter to his unalterable friend, Captain Allan McLane, tells of his need of pomitum and hair powder, worsted stockings, and green silk for a sash for his cap, ²⁹ and at another time he advises McLane to have the cut of his green coat altered, otherwise their friend Neil [Ferdinand O'Neal?] will not "suffer you to walk the streets with him." ³⁰ Intimate record of his wardrobe makes the hero more real. We pass beyond his barracks and open his clothespress, "Ordered that the commissary of stores deliver to Captain Michael Rudulph of Colonel Lee's Legion a suit of Cloathes [sic] and Linen for two shirts…" ³¹

Michael fought at the strong redoubt of Fort Cornwallis with a leonine vehemence. Finley's "grasshopper," and an old five pounder, were the scanty and only artillery at hand, and small arms were useless. A Mayham [Maham] tower, behind a farm house, went up slowly because of continuous interruption. Rudulph was in the forefront, driving the sorties back, clearing the trenches, and vanquisihing individuals in hand-to-hand fighting. The fury of battle was drawn out for three days. In the main assault, "Rudulph [sic], with his accustomed gallantry, gave them a warm reception." From the vantage point of the tower, English cannon were dismounted and the fort's interior wrecked. Meanwhile, Brown was using underground schemes – explosives and a fake deserter, whose wily suggestions all but entrapped the Americans. [p208] Brown refused the first, and reluctantly acceded to the second offer of surrender. With indulgence of British pride, 334 prisoners marched out of the fort with shouldered arms and drums beating. Rudulph was "appointed on the part of the victors to take possession of it [Fort Cornwallis] with its appurtenances." Fort Cornwallis had yielded to American arms. The Legion escorted the prisoners from Fort Cornwallis (excepting Brown, who was sent under the charge of Captain James Armstrong to Savannah for protection), to Ninety-Six, South Carolina, whither they were hastening to aid General Greene.

In Spite of Greene's retreat at Ninety-Six, Lord Francis Rawdon and Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger were not left behind. They felt it pointless to remain isolated, now that relay forts were

²⁵ Henry Lee, *Memoirs*, 355; Lossing, *Field Book*, II, 690; William Bacon Stevens, History of Georgia (2 vols., Savannah and New York, 1847, 1859), I. 206; Joseph Johnson *Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South* (Charleston, 1851), 356; Joel Chandler Harris, *Stories of Georgia* (New York, 1896), 109: "...Captain Rudolph [*sic*] (who was supposed to be some great general in disguise), with a detachment of picked infantry..." The quotation from Harris stems from the legend, although the time element is incorrect. Rudlph was not thought to be Marshal Ney until 1794.

²⁶ Lee, Memoirs, 355.

²⁷ Garden, Anecdotes, 129.

²⁸ Louise Frederick Hays, *Hero of Hornet's Nest, a Biography of Elijah Clark* (New York, 1946), 136.

²⁹ Michael Rudulph, Paramus, N.J., to Capt. Allan McLane, Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 1779, in Allan McLane Collection (New York Historical Society). MS Washington's household account book, 1793-1797: "Paid for Bears' oil and spermaceti to make Pomatum for Mrs. Washington 4/9 March 7, 1796." *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (second edition, Phil. 1949), Item 696.

³⁰ Michael Rudulph, Burlington, N.J., to Capt. Allan McLane, Phil., Feb. 15, 1780, in Allan McLane Collection (New York Historical Society.)

³¹ Archives of Maryland, Journal and Correspondence of State Council, 1781-1784 (68 vols. Baltimore, Nov. 24, 1781, Liber C.B., No. 24, p. 181), XLVIII, 2.

³² Lee, *Memoirs*, 363.

³³ Ibid.

destroyed, the garrison at Charleston insecure, and its surrounding area unprotected. Both armies marched east, under the broiling sun, and went into summer quarters.

When Greene broke camp at the High Hills [of Santee], he gathered his forces for the bloody battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, Sept. 8, 1781. Greene feared that the English were going to establish a permanent camp here, and that was not to his choosing. At the point of victory, Americans became disorganized, and the British won the field. The day following, the British, under Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stuart [Stewart], broke camp and started a slow march to Charleston. The last bitter fight of the campaign had been fought. Below the boundary of Virginia, only Wilmington, North Carolina, Charleston, and Savannah remained in English hands.

Then came the glorious news of the victory at the little tobacco village of Yorktown, Virginia. Caught between the forces of General Washington, Comte de Rochambeau, and the French fleet, Cornwallis had surrendered, October 19, 1781. Lieutenant Colonel Lee was present to plead that the French fleet come to the aid of Greene. Admiral de Grasse found it impossible to extend his cooperation in Georgia and South Carolina, since he was hastening to the West Indies.

After the victory at Yorktown, certain leaders were sent to the [p209] aid of Greene. As General Arthur St. Clair approached Wilmington, the British sailed to Charleston. General Anthony Wayne marched southward to block Savannah. The British [garrison there] evacuated Savannah, and sailed to Charleston, July 11, 1782. There the British forces tarried. Not until December 14, 1782, did the British fleet carry the British army away; they did not go empty handed. They helped themselves to 5,000 slaves, and foodstuffs enough for a campaign against our French ally in the West Indies. Definitive treaties between America, France, and England were finally ratified in Paris, September 3, 1783. The previous May, 1783, Michael received a leave of absence from the army, 34 and married Sarah Baker.

The young couple settled at the seaport town of Sunbury, Georgia, renting a house from Governor Richard Howley, with the stipulation that a year's rent was to go for necessary repairs. The wooden houses were large and comfortable; some were pretentious. Colonel Baker lived next door to a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Lyman Hall, elected governor in 1783, and Sarah and Michael lived nearby, all on choice "bay lots," with river frontage. Refugees, during the British occupancy, were returning to the safe and convenient harbor on Midway River. Everything pointed to peace and the revival of the town which became, February 26, 1784 the county seat of Liberty County.

When the British ruthlessly burned Midway Church, nine miles distant, young John Baker, Sarah's brother, wrote lamenting verses. If they lacked the spirit of poetry, at least the author was practicing the arts, and has furnished a description of the British, with "me [Midway] a pile of ruin." John, and the other devout inhabitants of Sunbury could rejoice now. Justice George Walton had seen that Midway Church was rebuilt.

Michael was promptly serving as Clerk of Court,³⁷ and December 16, 1783, was chosen as representative of Liberty County to the General Assembly.³⁸ As such, he was appointed by the speaker Habersham on a committee to examine the books, papers, and proceedings of the late Governor and Council, and to report.³⁹ In 1786, he was Justice of the Peace of Glynn and Camden counties.⁴⁰ [40] [p210] The warrior was adapting himself to political and civilian life. Many comrades-in-arms had settled in Georgia, among others, Ferdinand O'Neal, who married the fair Georgian, Mary Ann (Polly) Woodruff, in 1787, Robert Montfort, of North Carolina, James Armstrong, of Maryland [Armstrong was actually from Pennsylvania], and Thomas Rudulph, an older brother who eventually settled in St. Mary's, Camden County (where descendants live to-day, occupying since 1907, "Ross Inn," built around 1780, when upper story windows served as lookout posts for pirates, Spaniards, and Indians.) There was company, no end of company, and sometimes Michael neglected to get his mail, which was daily advertised in the *Georgia*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1785. Others on committee: Ferdinand O'Neal, Mr. Odingsell, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Telfair.

³⁴ Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers*, 476; David Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Dublin, 1795), II, 610: "To avoid the inconveniences of dismissing great numbers of soldiers in a body, furloughs were freely granted to individuals, and after their dispersion they were not enjoined to return. By this arrangement a critical moment was gotten over."

³⁵ Liberty County Records, Will Book A, 1785, p. 48.

³⁶ Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., Dead Towns of Georgia (Savannah, 1878), 188.

³⁷ Georgia Gazette, Dec. 11, 1783.

³⁸ Ibid., March 18, 1784.

⁴⁰ Mrs. J. E. Hays, State Historian, Atlanta, Ga., to Dr. Caldwell Woodruff, Lithicum Heights, Maryland, March 19, 1938. Copy in writer's possession, with appended note from Mary G. Bryan, Nov. 2, 1950: "The enclosed copies were on Mrs. Hays' desk which she was studying when she was taken ill..." "We have the following service record under the name of Michael Rudolph: Member House of Representatives, Liberty County, 1785; Justice of Peace, Glynn and Camden Counties, 1786; Collector, Sunbury, July 11, 1787."

Gazette, ⁴¹ and sub rosa, sometimes forgot to pay his taxes. This could be remedied as long as Michael was resident, but later, in his absence, pine barrens, marshes of Glynn, tracts on the great and little Satilla were nibbled off by the tax collector's sale. ⁴² It was fortunate for the heirs that Michael's Virginia bounty warrants were un-surveyed and unclaimed till 1819, when 4,000 acres westward of Cumberland, in Ohio, were allotted them. ⁴³

Life was full of pleasant intimacies. Michael was not cordoned off on either side by age. He chummed with Richard Howley, eighteen years his senior, as contentedly with the young boy, Thomas Spalding, who found him the best companion of youth, and lionized him. The lad, Thomas Spalding, while in school in Sunbury (possibly Sunbury Academy, established in 1788), made Michael's home his "resort." The word is charged with pleasure. Imagine the thrill of handling a Potter's sword, a weapon highly esteemed and taken by Michael in a personal conflict from an enemy. The soldier showed the boy the shape and private mark of the Legion farrier used on the fore shoes which enabled the troopers to distinguish their own trails from those of the enemy. In the boy's mind Michael was a gamecock, proud, straight, and handsome, trained to fight, yet capable of gentler moods. His eyes softened when he told Sergeant Mitchell, of Virginia, who fell at his side, at Ninety-Six, mortally wounded by a raw militiaman who forgot to give the challenge; or they sparkled when he related the story of his first cousin, Ann Rudulph. It was she [p211] who rode alone to Cornwallis' camp near Darby, Pennsylvania, and demanded to speak to Cornwallis in person, for the return of her pet cow. Cornwallis returned the cow, and gave the spirited girl his knee buckles, too.

One may be sure that the boys at Thomas' school heard that Michael had unseated and captured the boldest black dragoon employed by the British;⁴⁹ that besides prisoners he had seized a cannon at the battle of Eutaw;⁵⁰ that boldness, under the disguise of a framer selling produce, had effected the destruction of the galley *Alligator*.⁵¹

With easy grace, Michael used the stirrup to mount, but there was a horse block in front of every home in Sunbury, for the convenience of the ladies. Much travel was done on horseback; much in boats. Tied up to a river wharf, built of palmetto and live oak logs and filled with oyster shells, sand, and stone for ballast, was Michael's sloop, fashioned out of live oak cut from D. Montague's (David Montagut?) land on Sapelo Island.⁵² Vessels were built and repaired at a shipyard oon the eastern side of Colonels Island, necklaced with shell mounds. It was exhilarating to go, sometimes accompanied by Colonel baker who owned a virgin timber track on the island,⁵³ to see the shipwrights at work. Overhead the sky was alive with waterfowl, and looking seaward, across St. Catherines Sound, were two of the Golden Isles of Gaule, Ossabaw, and St. Catherines. As surely as thoughts ascend in the mountains, on the coast they go out to

⁴¹ Georgia Gazette, June 28, 1787; Dec. 27, 1787.

⁴² *Ibid.*, July 9, 1789; Sept. 20, 1792; July 30, 1795; Dec. 8, 1797.

⁴³ Revolutionary Bounty Warrants No. 3 (Virginia State Library, Richmond, Wa.) reel 347, p. 55, Certificate No. 6310.

⁴⁴ Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 3RR, 40.

⁴⁵ Garden, Anecdotes, 66.

⁴⁶ Lee, Memoirs, 401.

⁴⁷ Garden, *Anecdotes*, 150, 151.

⁴⁸ Helen Burr Smith, "The Story of Cornwallis' Buckles," in *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, April, 1956, p. 183. Ann Rudulp recipient of Cornwallis's buckles was the daughter of Jacob and Judith (Yocum) Rudulph, and wife of William Moore Smith, son of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. The pair of buckles was presented to the New York Historical Society, 1956, by Helen Burr Smithand the late Henrietta Royer Smith. When other Cornwallis buckles came to light in Georgia (Medora Field Perkerson, *White Columns in Georgia* [New York, 1952], 274), and in Maryland (owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Thaggart, Elkton, Md), one wondered if the General was not incommoded by his generosity. Helen Burr Smith in a letter to this writer, Feb. 25, 1957, explained: "I think that when the St. Nicholas story (Anne Johns Cox, "Cornwallis's Buckles," in *St. Nicholas*, Feb. 1882, p. 296) was published, all the Rudulp descendants who happened to own a buckle of the Revolutionary period honestly believed theirs was it." John W. Wayland, "Cynthia's Cow," in *History Stories for PrimaryGrades* (New York, 1948), 188. Dr. Wayland, Harrisonburg, Va., to this writer, Feb. 16, 1950: "The little story as it appears in *History Stories for Primary Grades* was written many years ago, and I cannot recall where or in what form I got hold of it. It cannot be certain, even whether I found the little girl's name as Ann Rudulph or Cynthia Smith. I am sorry."

⁴⁹ Garden, Anecdotes, 129.

⁵⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 470.

⁵¹ The Monitor (Tuscaloosa, Ala.) In 1855, quoted in Manly, The Manly Family, 188.

⁵² Michael Rudulph, Sunbury, to Richard Howley, Savannah, July 4, 1784. Rudolph-Ney MSS, Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), SRR 113; Caroline Price Wilson, *Annals of Georgia* (New York, 1928), Liberty County record, I, p. 31; David Montaigut, executor to will of Isabella Mackay, widow of Hugh Mackay, Lord Reay, late of Sapelo, *Georgia Gazette*, May 7, 1789: David Montaigut, Secretary of Union Society, Savannah.

⁵³ Records of Liberty County, Georgia, Will Book A, p. 37 (Will of John Baker.)

sea. How natural if Michael's musings reached the shores of France, where clouds of another revolution were gathering.

Combining business with pleasure, Michael planned a trip to St. Augustine, Florida, August 24, 1784, with Governor Richard Howley, that gay and rhetorical gentleman who protested, in 1781, against the possibility of Congress forfeiting Georgia to the British. His dissuading argument when published did much to squelch the propaganda circulated to seduce Georgia from allegiance to the United States. Michael worked diligently in preparation for the maiden voyage, "Twill take till Monday next to have the sloop in trim for the trip, on that day she shall be rigged and then nothing [p212] on my part shall be deficient towards felicitating the jaunt in a manner most agreeable. I shall want nothing material to make the tour pleasant but a small supply of c'sh, the scarcity of that with me will oblige me to be indebted to my friend." Part of this letter is cryptic, and at the same time revealing. Enthusiasm for some scheme proposed by Lieutenant James Gunn recoils at a word of caution from Howley. Michael is amenable. "I already know and have heard your opinion on a business of that nature, and I hope need not repeat my inclination, to not only take your friendly advice on every occasion but particularly join you on a visit and thereby adhere to your instructions in a business of this kind, when I am freed from the punctilio of a previous engagement." "55

The government had lavished 15,700 acres of bounty land on Rudulph,⁵⁶ but he was pressed for cash; nor did he suffer alone. Another letter to Howley discloses, "The situation of our friend O'Neile [O'Neal] and he about to travel to Augusta, renders and empty pocket particularly unwholesome, and though it's a matter that first interest me I have not wherewithal to relieve him, if you will be so very friendly as to advance him eight or nine guineas, if his supply does not arrive early to replace it, in a short time I shall have some rice in market and shall with many thanks refund it you."⁵⁷

Michael raised rice extensively, and a good number of "horned cattle." He exported in his sloop his own and the crops of neighbors who owned paddies in the swamp regions. Buyers showed partiality for his products, since they enjoyed contact with a hero.

Michael served as juror,⁵⁹ and bought real estate – two lots in Sunbury,⁶⁰ both on the river: lot number 11 for 200 pounds sterling, from Ferdinand O'Neal, February 1, 1786; lot number 28, from Thomas White, for 50 pounds sterling, May 19, 1787; and six lots in Brunswick.⁶¹ For 1,000 pounds sterling he sold, December 1, 1787, to John Pierce, of New York, 1,000 acres of land in Camden County.⁶² The House of Assembly appointed him, January 17, 1787, Collector of Port for Sunbury, a lucrative position that he held through 1789.⁶³

[p213] War entered Michael's life again, through the raids of Creek Indians. "Little was done in the period 1783-1789 to placate the red men and much to offend them." Such outrages as scalping, stealing slaves, taking whites into captivity forced protective measures. There was no safety even at church without arms. At a meeting at Midway church, the inhabitants of Liberty County voted to raise a "body of

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⁵⁴ Michael Rudulph, Sunbury, to Richard Howley, Savannah, August 24, 1784, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Land Grants, Georgia Land Office, Atlanta, Georgia:

¹⁰⁰⁰ Acres Dec. 13, 1785 County of Camden

⁸⁵⁰ Acres Dec. 13, 1785 County of Camden

¹⁰⁰⁰ Acres Jan. 17, 1787 County of Glynn, to Robert Montfort and Michael Rudulph

³⁸⁰⁰ Acres Apr. 26, 1787 County of Glynn

⁵⁹⁰⁰ Acres Apr. 29, 1788 County of Glynn

³⁶⁵⁰ Acres Apr. 22, 1788 County of Glynn

⁵⁷ Michael Rudulph, Savannah, to Richard Howley, Savannah, Saturday Morning, n.d., in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁵⁸ Records of Liberty County, Deeds, Book A, p. 105: A small herd was sold Jan. 12, 1786, to John Ford of St. Andrews Parish, Ogeechee River, for 700 pounds sterling. Mark Van Doren, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1928), 77: William Bartram noted "stocks of horned cattle" on the insular estates of Georgia, in 1773.

⁵⁹ Georgia Gazette, April 21, 1785; Dec. 11, 1788.

⁶⁰ Records of Liberty County, Deeds, Book A, p. 104, Feb. 1, 1786; Book B, p. 203, May 19, 1787.

⁶¹ Georgia Gazette, Aug. 12, 1797: Tax collector's sale at Brunswick Courthouse.

⁶² Liberty County Records, Deeds, Book B, p. 105, Dec. 1, 1787.

⁶³ Gazette State of Georgia, Jan. 25, 1787: Feb. 7, 1788: House of Assembly, Wednesday, Jan. 17, 1787, proceeded to the appointment of Collectors of Ports, John Berrien for Savannah, Michael Rudulph for Sunbury.

⁶⁴ Alden, The South in the Revolution, 356.

Light Horse" which should function immediately – 40 privates, 2 sergeants, 2 lieutenants, and Captain Michael Rudulph. 65

From this point on the man of many parts merges again into the soldier. He felt a growing compulsion to serve, an incurable questing after laurels. There were two possibilities. He thought of joining the French Revolutionary forces, as did other American veterans, including Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee. Here were attractions that appealed to a professional – battlefields, trained soldiery, advancement. Letters to Major George M. Bedinger and Major [General] Lachlan McIntosh, "Come, let's go to France where we can reap laurels!" showed Michael's restlessness. However, he was a Georgian, and he saw the need of soldiers to combat the sporadic attacks of the Indians, bold and insolent under the Spanish influence, and outraged over the cession of their lands to Georgia. Regular soldiers were few in numbers, yet best suited to military achievement. On June 3, 1790, Michael reinlisted in the United States Army, as Captain in the First Infantry, with headquarters in Augusta.

It is a natural assumption that Michael was present to participate in the festivities of Washington's visit, on his Southern tour, to Augusta, May 18, 1791. Washington's consciousness of Rudulph had been previously voiced, "I have the best opinion of the gentleman's merit." Washington toured the ruins of Fort Cornwallis, dined with a large assembly at the court house, including "60 or 70 well dressed ladies," and dined with Governor Edward Telfair. Interspersed with the gaieties, was serious conversation about the Spanish government of East Florida countenancing fugitive slaves, about mollifying the Creeks in Georgia, about troubles with the Indians of the Northwest. The last subject uppermost in the [p214] mind of Michael, since he had received orders for service in General Josiah Harmar's Indian campaign. The transfer was immediate. On June 1, 1791, Michael arrived with his family at Elkton. His wife and four children would reside here during his service. For two weeks Michael met old friends and looked upon familiar landmarks with more tenderness than when they had been part of his daily experiences. The Hollingsworth Tavern was still functioning and capitalizing on the fact that both Washington and Howe had slept there. How empty the "Rudolph Mansion" seemed with its builder gone! His uncle Tobias, who had signed the non-importation Resolutions in 1765, and who served on the Committee of Safety (one glimpses him relaying southward the news of Lexington, had "died with a fitt of the gout in his Breast, May 26, 1787."

Michael reported at Fort Fayette (Pittsburgh). It was here that he received his commission as Major of Light Dragoons, March 5, 1792, 75 the day that Arthur St. Clair resigned as Commander-in-chief. A month later Anthony Wayne was appointed to replace St. Clair. The vast number of complaints about the northwest boundary lines continued to increase. Congress had entered the war of the Northwest reluctantly, and still hoped that settlement could come through treaties with the Indians. Nevertheless, recruits were being encouraged, and troops were being trained. On September 24, 1792, Major Rudulph was serving at Fort Fayette as President of a General Court Martial where seven offenders were brought to military trial. The firmness of his command is evident in a communication written at Pittsburgh, to Captain William Lewis at Hajer Town [sic], Maryland, "By express authority of the Commander-in-chief, I have ordered that you do, instantaneously, on receipt of this, liberate Corvet Sol'm Jones. I am warranted to inform you, from his Excellency Major General Wayne, that your conduct on this occasion may turn out a very disagreeable business." All this icy sterness, yet he emerged beloved by his men, one of whom remarked,

⁶⁵ Gazette State of Georgia, Oct. 2, 1788; John B. Mallard, "Liberty County Georgia," in Georgia Historical Quarterly, II, 17; Charles C. Jones, Jr., Dead Towns of Georgia, 209, 210.

⁶⁶ Lee, *Memoirs*, 48, 49.

⁶⁷ Michael Rudulph, Park Abbey Encampment, to Maj. George M. Bedinger, Kentucky, Nov. 18, 1792, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin) 8RR 242; *Southern Literary Messenger*, Jan. 1847, p. 24.

Heitman, Historical Register of Officers, p. 476.
 Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XV, 487.

⁷⁰ Historical Collections of the Joseph Habersham Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution (Atlanta, Georgia, 1902), 657

⁷¹ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Gen. Wayne, Jan. 14, 1793, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁷² Editor, John W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia* (2 vols., New York, 1911) I, 864.

⁷³ Elizabeth Merrit, "Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775," in Maryland Historical Magazine, XLI, 91.

⁷⁴ Rudulph Bible Records (Photostats in Delaware Historical Society).

⁷⁵ Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers*, 476.

⁷⁶ General Court Martial Proceedings, Sept. 24, 1792, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁷⁷ Michael Rudulph, Pittburgh, Pa., to Capt. William Lewis, Hajer Town, Md., Oct. 12, 1792, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

"I never knew a man so strictly enforcing the observation of discipline who at the same [p215] time maintained so perfect an ascendancy over the affections of his men."⁷⁸

In the fall, Major Rudulph left Pittsburgh with an advantage troop for Fort Hamilton, to take up winter quarters. At Limestone he crossed paths with John Heckwelder, an interpreter, who was returning from Vincennes to Philadelphia, accompanied by sixteen Indian Chiefs, who had signed treaties. The Indians had been cajoled along the way, at Fort Knox, Fort Hamilton, and Charleston, with toasts and cannon fired as, a feu de joie, after each toast. Suddenly, at Limestone, when they pulled their canoes to shore, the friendly reception changed to one of hate. The white escorts, as well as Indians, were in immediate danger. Sixteen Kentucky boats bearing 400 soldiers were passing and shouted insults. Townspeople, crowded on the river bank, joined in the curses. Above the blasphemy, the firm, strong voice of Rudulph, a dominating figure astride his horse, by sheer force of personality, commanded and secured order. Rudulph took no chances and advised Heckwelder to proceed. Heckwelder never forgot the legendary manner in which one, lone man silenced a mob, and he wrote of the harrowing experience in his Journey to the Wabash in 1792, published at Halle, Germany, 1797.

Rudulph was the only officer at Fort Hamilton with sound military training. How different was the "Legion of the United States," as Wayne's command was called, from "Lee's Legion," where every officer was disciplined! With a crowded schedule Michael was up at 4 a.m., writing letters and acquiring the way of the Indian country, "like a Savage…looking out and peering about." He must explain to General Wayne a little indulgence, "I was obliged to allow Captain Boyer a leave of absence as I came down the river, he had just got a young wife." Michael knew conjugal happiness and was willing to risk reprimand.

Congress' hope that peace could be effected through treaties was unsound. To his friend Bedinger, Michael confided, "I have no hope unless a new plan is adopted by Congress." 82 War with the Indians could be won only by regular troops who knew obedience. Even so, Rudulph felt defects in both equipment and personnel. [p216] His letters from the west confirm afresh the real conditions of the army in 1793, "The swords and pistols fail very much, great injustices has been sustained by the Public in the purchase of these weapons. I don't know how it will be (if ever) we come to try them on Savages, as yet the experiment remains dormant."83 Added to graft was the case of desertions, "Sir, such has been my hard lot, that I must now painfully recount to Your Excellency a scene of disgrace, vexation, and perplexity. Desertions with us has prevailed to a degree, the loss to the Squadron since being down here is 25, mostly of our likeliest fellows, chiefly Virginians and Yorkers; how to account for it, I know not, otherwise than the irreconcilable want of Officers, and some hard work we have had, to finish our barracks and stables."84 To add to his tribulations, Michael felt great concern over the horses' welfare, "I lament the late loss of forage on the River [Miami, also Maumee] Hay will be scarce before spring and I fear about forage. Our horses, 200 of which we have here is too good to be lost unless in honorable and actual service."85 Instead of exhilaration and shock of battle, Rudulph was doomed to long delays and superhuman tasks. One thought comforted him, "the General [Wayne] will allow me to do anything." 86

Because of his own meager supply, Wayne could not respond to the moving plea, "Can you not, Sir, help me? How much longer must I not only command a corps without officers, but also do Capt's., Lieut's., Comt. Adjutant's and sometimes Quartermaster duty? This was not my contract and where is the honor, profit there is none." Would the weight of lonely responsibility be lifted?

Sighting Indians lurking around, Michael wrote his friend Bedinger, "I want to give the Indians one Trial which you may soon expect to hear of, if they do not retire from where they are about Fort Hamilton. When this event happens you may count on one of two things, that is that I give them a damn'd

⁷⁹ John Heckwelder, Narrative of John Heckwelder, Journey to Wabash, 1792 (Halle, Germany, 1797); Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XI, 466; XII, 179.

⁷⁸ Garden, Anecdotes, 128.

⁸⁰ Michael Rudulph, Park Abbey, to Maj. George Bedinger, Nov. 18, 1792, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), 8RR 242.

⁸¹ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Gen. Wayne, Jan. 14, 1793, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁸² Michael Rudulph, Park Abbey, to Maj. George Bedinger, Nov. 18, 1792, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), 8RR 242.

⁸³ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Gen. Wayne, Jan. 14, 1793, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Michael Rudulph, Park Abbey, to Maj. George Bedinger, Nov. 18, 1792, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), 8RR 242.

⁸⁷ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Gen. Wayne, Jan. 14, 1793, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

flogging, or that you and I do not meet again until in the Elysian Fields, for I do hold that a military life is not worth supporting under the wretched reflections, of being no use but to gratify savages as [p217] subjects for their cruelty and insolence. I will in one instance try to retrieve the reduced character of the American people as Warriors."88

Often overcome with tedium, Michael longed for home and family and "the dowry lap of love." He was struggling for endurance when a letter arrived from Elkton.

Immediately, Michael wrote a long heart-breaking letter to Wayne, not strictly official, as letters came to be later, "From my last advice from Maryland I am much concerned for my domestic affairs there. I had not more than a fortnight with my family after my arrival with them from Georgia, ye first of June Last; all this Your Excellency will justly say is not to be put in competition with the public weal; but I am at the same time made happy at the reflections of Your Excellency having once had a Young Wife and little children, this is now my situation; Glittering laurels might keep me, but no earthly consideration can compensate for the pleasures I must forego by staying from my family longer than Spring. If some of the Captains should at length get up, and nothing in view of the approach of Spring, but delusive Treatys, I should deem it a great mark of your favorable attention to suffer me a leave of absence to go to Maryland in all the month of March." 90

Wayne granted the furlough. Michael was jubilant with the prospect of hastening to "the abode of my lovely family in March." Before his departure, February 23, 1793, Michael Rudulph was appointed the 15th Adjutant General and Inspector of the United States Army. 92

In high spirits he wrote to Bedinger, telling of his plan to stop overnight with him at Shepherdstown, when he would get in touch with Bedinger's campaigns, political and amorous.⁹³

What happened between March and July is obscure. This is known: Michael Rudulph resigned from the army, July 17, 1793. Shortly afterwards he went to sea on a vessel owned by Robert Hart of Elk Neck, Maryland. With Captain Joseph Lort, he sailed away on the Chesapeake, transporting a cargo of tobacco, destined for the West Indies, and was heard from no more. [p218] Was the voyage for financial reasons, or was it to join an army in action, or to let boisterous waves and cleansing winds distract and invigorate a disappointed spirit? The silence of death never fell on this youthful soldier; billowed sails propelled him into legend.

Transcribed by William Thomas Sherman http://www.gunjones.com *and* http://www.scribd.com/wsherman_1 And for Lee's Legion on Face Book: http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=121637007849696

⁸⁸ Michael Rudulph, Park Abbey, to Maj. George Bedinger, Nov. 18, 1792, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), 8RR 242.

⁹⁰ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Gen. Wayne, Jan. 14, 1793, in Wayne Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁹¹ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Maj. George Bedinger, Kentucky, Feb. 19, 1793, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), 8RR 253.

⁹² Recruiting News, 2; Heitman, Historical Register of Officers, 467.

⁹³ Michael Rudulph, Ft. Hamilton, to Maj. George Bedinger, Kentucky, Feb. 19, 1793, Rudolph-Ney MSS, in Draper Collection (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), 8RR 253.

⁹⁴ Recruiting News, 2; Heitman, Historical Register of Officers, 467.

⁹⁵ Johnston, History of Cecil County, Maryland, 518